2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

Prayers were also believed efficacious. As soon as a person became sick, his people prayed to God to help him and cure him. In addition, the priest prayed for the sick individual in the church (or in the home if the sick person could not go to the church) asking God to cure his servant from such and such a sickness and to give him peace. Candles were burned when the prayers were being said, but the burning of these candles was not supposed to have any curative power. "This service is performed more for the old people and although it is said to be *vetur rabota* [plumb foolishness], yet many times it helps the sick to recover. Nowadays people do not believe in God and this is why many people die, and also that is why life in general is as it is, so heavy."

In looking for the causes of illness the peasants also turned to the Almighty who, it was formerly believed, sent sickness as a punishment upon individuals for wrongs they had done. While many people in 1937 had the same attitude, there were some who accepted the germ explanation. But even some of these, if a sickness dragged on and on, suspected that God might be meting out some punishment, germs or no germs. Here was the way they so often put it: "And God has the right to punish the people, for now they have begun not to believe in him and not to listen to him. Now the people are forgetting God and are with the Devil."

The villagers knew the names of only a few diseases and classified all illnesses under one of these few. The worst disease was the "plague" (typhoid fever), then tuberculosis, *sharka* (pox), scarlatina, and finally, "a bad cold." The doctor used a more scientific classification in listing the causes of death. Her report for 1936 showed that thirty-three people died within the year. Diseases accounting for four deaths each were tuberculosis, nervous disorders, and pneumonia; those accounting for two deaths each were scarlatina, whooping cough, diphtheria, cancer, heart disease, old age, and childbirth (mother); those causing one death each were childbirth (infant), typhus, erysipelas, bronchitis, diarrhea, digestive ailment, and accident. Her scientific approach did not necessarily mean that the doctor's recovery percentage was very high, because patients were brought too late for proper treatment. Therefore the peasants said: "And

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

753 many times the doctors cannot help. They cannot give a second soul to the sick. If he has some more days to live, he will live; if not, he will die. Doctors are not God and even the doctors die as well."

761 In keeping with this fatalistic attitude toward sickness, the peasants accepted death as simply as they would any life process. Before I began my study of Dragalevtsy I was already familiar with the peasants' conception of death. One account which had proved helpful in gaining this understanding appeared in the *Bulgarian-British Review* back in 1931, and was written by Mrs. A. Vessova. She said in part:

775 761 "Death to these people is not considered the end; it is but the continuation of the earthly life in another sphere—the invisible world. The bounden duty of the family is to prepare the dying for their long journey so that they will not have to roam disconsolately in the darkness without finding their way to their new surroundings. Of the dying person they repeat to one another that he or she is now a traveler. Their first duty is to light a candle which they place above the head of the patient, so that they may not see it, should they happen to be conscious. Should the patient be allowed to die without lighting this particular candle, it is considered by the villagers to bring great discredit on the family. The meaning of the candle is that when the soul starts upon its long journey it has to pass through dark passages, and the candle will light the way.

". . . As soon as the neighbors hear the announcement [of the death] they immediately throw away all the water found in the house, and proceed to the fountain to replenish all their vessels. The same procedure takes place in the house of the deceased. There is no clear explanation for this custom or its real meaning, but it is supposed to symbolize, as do other customs, that as the water flows smoothly and evenly, so the voyage of the soul will be made smooth and easy.

764 775 "The peasants believe that though invisible the soul continues to keep the form of the body which it has just left. For this reason the deceased is laid to rest in his grave in his ordinary clothing. Led by his or her angel, for they believe that every human being at his

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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538 not as a real story but in fragments, remarks, speculations. 787 It is by the aid only of this small change that we can hope 761 to construct a relative chronology of folk-lore.

THE NATURE AND CAUSE OF DISEASE

753 The blood, the various fluids of the body and its secretions 827 and excretions are also essential parts which can be con- 761 sidered to bear in themselves life. In their expulsion from the [752] body good or evil forces can also be expelled, which is the [757] reason given for blood-letting and for purgation which often precede other treatment, notably in febrile complaints; 514 while excrement is considered as a carrier of disease and carefully avoided as unclean or dangerous. But besides this, 778 as intimately connected with the man, or lest it fall on an unclean place or be used against him, he himself must take care to secrete it. There are fragmental observances relating to evacuation in accordance with the local flora and certain taboos associated with plants, etc., and still very definite taboos with regard to places (sacred places, such as church-yards, cross-roads, scratched-up places (*sugrebljiva mesta*—Serbia), sacred trees, etc.).

827 753 The fluids or humours of the body, sometimes referred to collectively as blood, can go stale as it were. The blood can congeal or sour or be poisoned or become 'bad blood'. Only then is it usually considered reasonable to part with blood. Venous blood is often taken to be this bad blood. There is an extended idea that blood flows through the body and does not remain stationary. Headaches are caused by bad blood or too little blood, or too much blood. Epilepsy is 'a grave [757] sickness of the blood'[1] and is treated by letting blood. Blood can flow to the head and cause headache, which is 755 then cured by applying leeches to the temple. Infantile con- 827 vulsions were treated by applications of herbs said to still the

[1] Cf. F. Ivanišević, *Poljica*, Zb. IX, p. 39; cf. G. Golemanov, *Materiali po narodna Medicina iz Gorno-Orehovsko*, Sb.N.U. XXX, p. 35.

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fula' has a Serbian *calque* or parallel *prase*, *svinja* or plural *svinje*, in the double sense of 'pig' and 'scrofulosis'.

In a collection of prescriptions of 1843 a disease is mentioned: '*kratorija*, *kurta*...which is like a dog biting at a man's stomach (*acerbitas*)'. The term is an old one since it is used as an equivalent of gangrene in the twelfth century. In modern Bulgarian: *kərticina*, *kərtica* = scrofula, icterus. The animal cognate is *krt*, *krtica*, etc., a mole.[1] In Orehovsko, in Bulgaria, swellings which are elsewhere called *kərtovi pǫpki* (scrofula?) are cured by making a child who has them urinate on a mole hill (after using a counting-out formula), and by applying the mud to the parts affected.

Some of the homonyms arise from similar characteristics of the disease and the animal. For instance, *mlamosi* (the disease) is brought about when a child is left too long in the sun. The insect *mlamosnica* is yellow in colour. *Žaba* (the disease) appears as boils with black centres on the tongue which resemble a frog's eyes.[2]

muscle, menthula; *miška*, *paci*, vulva, Bg. *pačence*; *mura*, an animal's stomach, rennet; the name of a black animal, dog, goat, horse; *oko*, eye, a kind of snail; *pupak*, umbilicus, belly; *bubac*, stomach of a fowl; *plovak*, womb, placenta (*plovka*, duck, etc.); *ptic*, menthula infantis; *riba*, muscles, buttocks, fish; *ribice*, kidneys, intestines; *zec*, breast bone of an animal, a hare; *žabe*, *žabice*, glands, testicles; *žlezde*, glands, scrofula, O.B. *žolva*, a tortoise, etc. (For a discussion of some of these etymologies, cf. H. Gunter, K.Z. Bd. XLV, p. 43 *passim*; also *Archiv für Slav. Philologie*, XXVII, XXXII, etc.)

[1] Cf. T. Bratić, *Ljekaruša iz* 1843 *godine*, Gl.Z.M. XX (1908); V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte d. kirchenslawischen Sprachen* (1913), p. 305; cf. *Bolgarska Starina*, I.

[2] E.g. *buba*, gangrene, carcinoma, apoplexy; *bubinjaca*, a boil, etc.; *bubuljice*, acne; *buba*, *zla buba*, a suppuration or inflammation round the nails, a gumboil (an insect is supposed to gnaw the flesh; the pus is its excreta); *buba u glavi*, a disease in young children when the skin turns yellow, dry and translucent, and they frequently touch their heads and are generally sickly (also brain fever); *buba*, an insect, beetle; *badlje*, *balji*, *badljivi*, eczema of scalp and brows, trichiasis, a sty, a tumour, cf. *plamac*, *sklopac*, *jarac*, etc. (also a maggot of some kind); *baga*, disease of a horse—in Stulli's dictionary *bagoče* is *maxillarium nervosum convulsio*, adj. *bagav*, lame, generally of horses (*bagač*, *baguda*, an insect, perhaps from It. *bago*); *crv*, various sores, wounds, etc., a worm, a scalp disease; *gušteri*, diphtheritis, cf. *guteri*, adenoids, etc.; *kuščer*, a swelling, sprain,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Names of the source of the disease, particularly names of supernatural beings, can be used of the disease itself—with what degree of personification it is difficult to decide in every case. In the eastern regions it seems that a number of terms used elsewhere of common diseases, would be defined as evil

a lizard; *lisa*, disease of scalp or beard causing the hair to fall out (also a disease caused by a spirit); *metilj*, disease of the liver, in sheep or cattle; *metiljka*, a cataract, disease of the eye, an insect, moth; *mlamosi*, sunstroke (?), cf. *mlamosnica*, a centipede, a yellow larva; *magarac*, *magarevac*, whooping cough, a donkey; *mravi*, shuddering as in fever, ants; *maćka*, a cold in the nose, cat, cf. *maćić*, typhus, erysipelas, a whitish rash on the face; *mrav*, *pamrav*, 'something in the brain rolls about as though alive', brain fever, cf. *pamrava*, larva of *Gastrophilus equi*, the disease caused by it; *pauk*, syphilis, spider; *nerast*, splenitis, morbus lienis, cf. *nerast*, a young boar; *pesićevo*, *pesice*, a parasite infested wound; *prasići*, a swelling under the ears; *paučina*, herpes, a cobweb; *ospice*, variolae, wasps; *rak*, cancer, an ulcer, a festering wound, etc., crayfish; *ribine*, a swelling, a sprain, a hard knot 'like hardened arteries' which is caused by strain or by chill, rupture, cf. *riba*, a fish; *štene*, a festering wound, a young dog, cf. Bg. *skuli*, boils, eruptions; *stenći*, atheroma; *svinja*, *svinje*, scrofulosis, Bg. *svinja*, a fistula, a swelling; *prase*, scrofulosis, a pig; *srdomasi*, an illness in the head of a young child caused by a worm of the same name; *trud*, ulcer, panaritium, a hornet; *vuk*, gangrene, wolf, cf. Bg. *volk*, laryngitis; *gagalki*, blisters in the mouth; *gogolj*, a swelling, a diving bird; *guta*, diphtheritis; *guta*, *gutal*, a pigeon, etc.; *gusenica*, a boil or tumour on the legs of cattle, a caterpillar; *guba*, *gubavica*, lepra, a swelling, a toad, also a fungus—*Coccus lecanium*, etc.; *grič*, *griža*, morsus, dysentery, etc., cancer, an open sore, cf. *griža*, *grizica*, *grižlica*, a moth or maggot, a kind of snake, a worm; *grinta*, the same, an ulcer, wound, disease of the scalp, a minute parasite, cf. *grinja*, a moth; *moljac*, a moth, a worm which breeds in the flesh; *jarac*, inflammation of the eyelids, a skin rash, cf. *jaricanje*, white spots or small blisters round the mouth and chin, an infection from cattle, a swelling on the body of cattle; *jašterica*, *gušterica*, a swelling on the tongue or foreleg, especially of cattle, a lizard; *jašterice*, small sores or boils on the side of the tongue; *koza*, *kozice*, variolae, chicken pox, a goat; *krava*, *kravica*, a swelling under the ears, on the arm, a sprain, a cow; *kukac*, panaritium, insect, salamander; *vočić*, inflammation round a bite, an inflamed wound, dim. *vo*, ox; *žaba*, *žabice*, angina, swelling in throat, any swelling, abscess, ulcer, etc., in cattle and sheep a boil on the tongue; *žaba*, frog, Bg. *zvjerinac*, herpes; *žabka*, *žalca*, fistula; *želve*, *žabe* (Slo.), scrofula, an abscess; Bg. *želka*, *želva*, tortoise; *živina*, *zverice*, *zverinac*, *živa rana*, etc., gangrenous sore or wound, cancer, inflammation, Bg. *živina*, *živinica*, *živenica*, syphilis, scrofula, swellings on the body; *živina*, *zver*, etc., animal, wild animal, etc.; *žutuga* (*žutice*, *zlatica*), icterus, a kind of fish.

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spirits. It will also be noted that these names include a number of animal names.[1]

Any attempt to discover a primal relationship between these categories or the initial reason for the adoption of animal names, would, of course, be so much waste of time if the investigation is confined to one linguistic area. In the examples that follow there will be found ample evidence of

[1] The following are names of the various kinds of supernatural beings, any of which may cause disease or harm. The greater number of these words also signify specific diseases. Even *plaśnja* and *strava* may mean personal forces or beings. *Smlata*, which is generally nothing more than *Hexenschluss*, and often has ceased to have any connection with witchcraft, also means a witch or *mora*. Note that the names of supernatural beings, of the witch or fairy order, also occur as names of professional magicians and witch doctors (*viljenak, vilovnjak, vještnik, vještica, brodnik, brodnica, vila, vračarica, bajalica, baharica, madžionica*, etc.); i.e. these can be either human beings or supernatural beings. Note that some of them are generally referred to in the plural.

Beštija, brodnica, coprnja (*ica*), *čuma, čumica* (pl. *čumice*), *duh, loš duh, zao duh, izdat, izdajnica, jude, kamenice, okameni, okamenica, kuga, krivo oko, karan, karakandžeri, krvopilica, kratelj, skrat, skrata, kosac, kudlak, vukdolak, lisa, lune, leptir, netopir, vampir, lumpir, vampirčići, ljutice, mora, tmora, pomora, muravini, mekarine, mame, mamica* (pl. *mamice*), *mlamusi, matić, medivančići, nastrijelice, nastrelina, namerice, namet, nametnice, nežid, nežit, naprasnik, naprasnica, nahud, nahudnica, hudnici, nažurenice, žura, žuravice, nastrijelina, naletnice, noćnice, noćni osjen* (*sjen*), *senka, nečestivi, nečastivi, nečisnjak, nepomenica, ogram, ogramnica, otrovnica, proždreljevica, poganica* (pl. *-e*), *plaśnja, uplah, polegać, rusak, rusa, ruse, rusalje, roške, stuhe, stihiji, sekarine, striga, sekarice, slute, sklopci, strava, strašnice, strijelica, sihir, strelka, ustrijel, šejtan, sotona, saturnica, tentacija, talasam, tenćac, utvar* (pl. *-i, -e*), *vila, samovila, samodiva, vještica, vile otrovnice, vrag, vražići, vražalica, vada, povada, vadine, urok, uročica, uročići, vadika, vražalica, viruške, uljezina, urama, uramnica, vlas, vlasi* (*ovi*), *vihor, vihorice, usadi, usov, zmet, zmaj, zduhovi, stuhe*, etc. Note the variations of meaning such as *činilica*, a witch, a charm worker, an evil spirit, a mental disease; *lahus*, a lying-in woman; *lahusi*, spirits that attack her or her child, an illness (also *kokošite lahusi*, a disease of fowls); *babice* is the usual Serbian word for this series, and also means diarrhoea. In Bulgarian we also find *ermenki* (a kind of evil spirit) which can also be equivalent to *urisnice*, spirits which foretell the fortune of a new-born child; *usov*, a sheep disease, as well as a spirit; *ustrel*, a spirit, in particular a spirit which attacks sheep, or the spirit of an unchristened child, a vampire and so on, also a disease without reference to the agency of spirits; *čumice* are the children, *čuma*, plague; *bolehčići* are disease-spirits collectively. (Šiškov, *Život na Bulgarite v Srednja Rodopa* (Plovdiv, 1886), p. 46.)

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a belief that many diseases are caused by animals, ghost animals or spirits. Probably one of the most primitive notions of the mystery of pain and sickness, the bite of an invisible creature, is reflected in a fairly widespread name for almost any acute pain or attack, namely *zmija* (snake); while Albanian has *bolē* (a viper), possibly from the Slavonic *bol-* (pain), rather than equivalent to *belua*. In a manuscript of prescriptions of the eighteenth century the reader is told, 'How you may expel a snake from a man' (*Vetus corium combure, fumum per infundibulum in os patientis imitte, iaceat que capite deorsum verso cogetur exire serpens...*). Further, *ocymum basilicum* in vinegar is recommended, so that it will 'drive the snake and any other creature out of a man'.[1] When a child had an epileptic fit, said Miličević, 'a woman of the household goes up on to the roof of the house and hails the first passer-by by name: "Hie, Mark, listen! A snake bit our Johnny to-day but never again!"' Any one wasted by sickness and fever is said to look as though a snake had sucked him. A number of complaints are caused by or through lifeless things also, or bear similar names, but it can never be quite certain whether the analogy begins with a folk-etymology or through some other association. The common name for piles is *klin* or the plural, which at the same time means a nail, a wooden peg, a billet of wood, etc. Observances towards these objects exist for fear of the disease, and nails, etc., occur in the cures recommended. An instance is given by Vuk under *brus* (a whetstone), and an obscene expression for the anus. He adds: 'On Christmas eve the Bosnians hide all the whetstones in their houses lest their children suffer from piles.' The cures in which a connection exists between the animal name of the part of the body or of the disease and the remedy itself seem to be genuine folk-remedies; it is amongst these

[1] Fr. S. Gundrun-Oriovčanin, *Lučova Ljekarula*, Zb. XIV, p. 83. Cf. Ginčev (*Nešto po bulgarsko narodna medicina*, Sb.N.U. II, p. 86), who says that there was a belief that a snake could enter the body of a sleeper by his mouth and suck his insides, and that it could be expelled by eating the bladder of a weasel.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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nature, for as a rule they are descriptive rather than precise, like the euphemisms for evil spirits: 'unmentionable evil', traitor', 'enemy', 'great sickness', 'aunt', 'sister', 'kind ones', 'honey sweet ones', and so on. *Vrag*, *vražica*, is a generic word for 'devil', 'spirit', but locally it may have a specific use. At Vidin for example it means 'splenitis', like the Russian *besnaja* (epilepsy), and so on.

For colic (*izdat*) in the Homoljski district, the patient is fumigated or steamed, and if he vomits it is a good sign. Or the witch woman places three grains of corn on the umbilicus, with three beans, the seeds of the pepper plant; she holds her knife there point downwards and she says: 'Black arrow unstruck by arrows, why have you loosened your hair, why have you disfigured your face?...Why not, when I (attack) you with one knife and you me with two...' (follows a counting out formula on these lines). 'Flee arrow (to the usual place where there are no cocks, etc.).'[1] Miličević gives this treatment for the same disease, which he calls *nastup* (*nastupiti*, to tread, begin, come): the patient is made to drink water from a mortar (*stupa*), the mortar is passed three times round his head, he is then well covered and left to sleep. The mortar is left standing upside down overnight.[2] In the same way wine is poured through the chimney into a mortar, and a little is given each morning to the children as a preventive against whooping-cough (*da ne nastupa*). The mortar cure for stomach pains and fevers may be found where the diseases are not known by this name, but whether the cause is the false analogy of the whooping-cough cure, or has a different history, cannot be said. In another exorcism the disease is addressed as: '*nametnike*, *nametnice*—put on and putters on (of evil), *nagaznice*—treaders on, *napasnice*—attackers, enemies...whether of mountain, field or sea, of Jewish, Albanian, Serbian or Gipsy origin...old or young, male or female...'.

Namet or *nenadnja* is a sudden attack, e.g. stomach-ache, but also a spell. *Sugreb*, which at the same time means a

[1] S.E.Z. XIX, p. 219. [2] M. Miličević, *op. cit.* p. 285, etc.

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reddish rash, is a mysterious disease caused by treading on a charmed place, or spell. In Serbia it is associated with places where a dog, cat or wild animal has scratched up the earth. There is an extensive terminology for phenomena of this order. *Ograisati se*, in common use at any rate since the eighteenth century, means roughly to walk accidentally on a spell, as in the example, *Ili mi se junak ograisio, ograisio na kom krstopuću*...—'My hero may have mistrodden, mistrodden on some cross-roads.' After sunset one should not kill snakes,[1] make water outside the house, sleep under a walnut tree and so on (*jer bi time ograisao*). Should a pregnant woman tread (*nagazi*) on the blood of a slaughtered pig there will be red spots on her child. *Nagaziti na čine, na vraga, na šejtana* = to tread accidentally on spells or demons. In Bulgaria and East Serbia and in later dictionaries (nineteenth century) we find *ugramak, ogramak, ograma, urama*, etc., from the Turkish. Gerov gives *urma, orama, nagaznice, nagaozvačka*, etc., a disease caused by an evil spirit, equivalent to *naletišće, vitruške* (a kind of spirit, an evil wind), and there are equivalent nouns and verbs in modern Greek. Further there is the series *naseljine*—when a man sits on a bad thing, or when it fixes itself on to him. The concept includes wind-born spirits, like the Russian *nasylka po vetru*; it is not to be confused with the complaints connected with the 'settling' of blood, e.g. under a bruise (*nasela krv*), etc.

The effects of *ograma* seem to be mostly rheumatic pains, often counted as a *vila* disease and, as we have seen, also attributed to wind. In Bulgarian dialects rheumatism is called *vetər* (wind), whether or not *vila* sent.[2] Blindness, deafness, dumbness, epilepsy, paralysis, fevers, rheumatism, are some of the typical diseases sent by *vile*, which can be cured only by those in contact with these beings. Diseases can

[1] Cf. Gl.Z.M. (1907), *loc. cit.*

[2] Cf. a spell running: *nemitnice, nedojenice, nevenčanice, vile, vetrovi i nekama bolesti, sama ti molim, ja, Dona bajalica*...; Miličević, *Glasnik Srpskog Učenog Društva*, XXII (1867). Cf. *viher*, meaning 'a fever' (S.E.Z. XII, p. 409).

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be divided into something like natural diseases and supernatural ones. The latter are called *vila* diseases, 'treacherous' (*neverne*) diseases, and diseases 'put on' (*nametnute*) by magic or the evil eye.

If one goes outside at night in an evil hour, or makes water at night in an unclean place (he should as a safeguard spit first three times) and after he fall ill, he is said to have come upon evil (*uradisal*). The cure at Libjahovo is to wash him with unbroken water and throw the water outside the house saying: 'From the dung heap you came, to the dunghill return, gentle and honied ones.' Or else let the unfortunate man take a cake smeared with honey and put it on the place where he thinks that he caught the disease to *appease the* '*urama*'.[1] Such offerings are to be made should one urinate under an old rose bush or any other tree, and afterwards be troubled by pains in the back and head and legs. In the Nišava district for this kind of disease (*ogradisanje*), the woman doctor (*bajalica*) sprinkles the place with sherbet on a sprig of hyssop, and at the same time beseeches those who have sent the illness to remove it *in return for this rich gift.*[2] Honey or honey water is the usual libation, and honey is one of the traditional offerings to the *vile*.

Namera is used rather in the same sense, as well as to signify an ill-wished misfortune or an evil eye. Diagnosis of these diseases can be made from the clothes worn by the patient when he caught it, or by bringing certain things—flowers, nails, horseshoes, a glass of wine, water, salt, and food—either to the spot in question or to trees commonly associated with spirits, such as roses, blackthorns, willows, etc. A prayer is generally addressed to the spirits or to the tree. It is common to leave the offerings over night, and if the next day they have been in any way disturbed, a leaf fallen into the wine or what not, it is clear that the man has been enchanted. The offerings can serve afterwards as a medicine.

Distinguished from ill-wishing and spell casting in the

[1] Cf. S.E.Z. xm, p. 445; Sb.N.U. (1926), p. 162; Gl.Z.M. p. 387.
[2] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave* (1910), p. 278.

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This was the curse of St Petka and St Nedelja upon Vuk Vučković for robbing a monastery. After sickening for twelve years his mother asked him for what sin he was chastened, and no sooner had he confessed the truth than his soul slipped out of his bones. He was buried but the earth heaved him up out of her, and the sea refused his corpse. His mother took his body and put it into a cannon and so blew him to fragments and his dust was scattered. We have already given enough examples to show that the symptoms described are not likely to have been understood originally as mere poetical hyperbole, but as sound folk-pathology.

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The *vile* (*samovile*, *samodive*) are nature-spirits, and they are of different kinds according to the places which they inhabit: trees, mountains, sweet waters, seas, clouds and so on. They are frequently called 'the good ones', 'the sweet ones'. In some parts they are called *vještice*, *coprnice*, the usual names for witch. Sometimes they are decidedly evil spirits, sometimes good, sometimes merely capricious or envious; but they are always connected with disease, with its origin and with its cure. They can heal the wounds given by their own arrows.

The diseases brought by these nymphs are typically fevers, perhaps because of their association with watery places, as well as aches in the bones, madness and epilepsy. A *vila* can take a man's shadow from him, and he wanders as aimlessly as a headless fly. Perhaps *vrbanac*, as a name for a skin disease, has been coined by a popular analogy with the willow tree (*vrba*), which figures largely in cures and in *vila* mythology. Diseases of this name are sometimes said to be *vila* sent. In Macedonia, North and West Bulgaria, in the Dalmatian hinterland and elsewhere a complete *vila* cult can be found at least in traces, with sacred springs visited and petitioned on certain days, offerings made to the spirits and special intermediaries between them and ordinary men. Some features of these local cults and survivals are reminiscent of those known to be connected directly with the cult and tendance of the dead ancestors. The *vile*, as we have remarked, are also connected with winds. A local name for them in

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Slovenes EF7
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Bulgaria is *vihruške* (winds). In South-west Macedonia they are supposed to inhabit winds that guard their springs.[1] *Dobrinjica* is also an euphemistic term for a fairy, and also for certain pains. *Dobra* at Orhanie, in Bulgaria, is recognised by a swelling or inflammation and is cured by reciting an appeal to '*Dobrice*! sisters!' (i.e. the *Samovile*) which ends: 'The wind blew you hither, the wind blow you away!'[2]

The exorciser may refer to an alliance with the *vile*, as well as to the approval of God, the obedience which spirits lend her, and the virtue of her hand. Thus one declares: 'Our friends the *samovile* have sent us (to you). They raise their voices to heaven and spread their tears on the earth. Here it is filthy, here it stinks, here sows farrow, bitches have their young, mares foal....'[3] When a fracture will not heal it may be called a fairy fracture (*vilinski slom, vilovski ulom*—Croatia, Dalmatia, cf. *smlata*). It is fumigated with holy

[1] Cf. V. M. Nikolić, 'Iz Prespe', *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* (1905), pp. 158, etc.; D. Marinov, *Vera i Religiozni narodni običai*, Sb.N.U. XXVIII, p. 33.

Feeding the wind was a custom known in many parts of Austria, including the Slavonic provinces. The winds were fed with flour, salt, corn, etc., sometimes on special festivals, and witches, who were responsible for raising winds, carried a paste of flour in a bag for the wind. These offerings are not only reminiscent of the offerings made by the South Slavs to *vile* and to sacred trees, etc., but to a practice of curing 'fear' (*strava*) by means of flour. This custom is found in Macedonia and Central Bulgaria and, may be, elsewhere. The seeress takes two handfuls of flour and touches her patient on the head, and then every part of him down to the feet, while she recites a spell which bids the *strava* to pass from head to forehead, from forehead to eyes, etc., down to the feet, and out at the toes. This is done three times. Then the seeress throws the flour either on to the hearth, if the rite is performed in the house, or against an old tree, if it takes place out of doors. The figure made by the flour is interpreted in the same way as the molten lead which is used for another cure for this complaint.

On the custom of feeding the winds, known in German as *windfüttern*, see V. Fossl, *Volksmedicin und medicinischer Aberglaube in Steiermark*, 1885, p. 61; J. Krainz, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des deutschen Volkes in Steiermark*, Zeitschrift für oesterr. Volkskunde, II, p. 307; E. H. Hoffmann Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglauben*, III (*füttern*).

[2] Ginčev, *op. cit.* Sb.N.U. III (1890), p. 144.

[3] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 277.

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she killed with her breath. Against either the fruit of a tree resembling a wolf's paw is stuck over the door. Throughout Dalmatia it was anciently the custom to hang out a wolf's tail or the tail of an ass or some other beast, as is now sometimes done in the hinterland.

God was building a monastery—so a Bulgarian song begins—He sent Plague ('the swiftest sickness') to fetch innocent souls—of old people for the foundations, young men for the walls, young women for the windows, children for the transept, and so on. Plague went to Janko's house, but she could not get into the courtyard, for Janko's dogs had been born on a Saturday of Holy Week and recognised her for what she was, though she came disguised as a gipsy. God told her to take the form of a bear, which she did, and appeared as a savage terrible bear, and so accomplished her mission.[1] Like Death, Plague in stories has a book or scales and, like Death, she has been known to take a bribe or to serve men out of gratitude or friendship.[2]

Against Small-pox, Cholera or the Plague, whichever happens to be most familiar, this kind of precaution was and may still be taken. Fresh water, a mirror, a comb and salt are left for her by a tidy hearth at night, or a present of fowls, bread and wine taken to a distance beyond the village in the hope that she will go there and pass by the houses. Or she is induced to take her seat in a cart, given presents and left somewhere in the open fields or by the roadside, or in the next parish, with a couple of roast fowls, a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread. Plague is the god-parent of those born on a Saturday or the Saturday of Holy Week and therefore these are immune from her and take a principal part in the ploughing rites described below. Further, it is said that she will not attack a clean neat house.

South Slav folk-lore abounds in monsters, many quite unburdened by any departmental duties, but some not unlike

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Sevena Dobrudža*, Sb.N.U. xxxv (1923), pp. 150–2, cf. p. 339; Kačanovski, *Pamjatniki* ('*Janko i Kuga*'), etc.
[2] E.g. Ristić and Lončarski, *Srpske Narodne Pripovjetke*, m.

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the disease sisters. Male personifications of disease are more rare. The Bulgarian shepherds of Libjahovo have from time to time been plagued by *Dedejko* ('grand-daddy') who attacks their sheep in summer. A magician is then engaged, who goes from sheep to sheep shaking each in turn. As soon as he spots *Dedejko* he strikes out at him and falls to the earth as though dead. The shepherds throw water on him and revive him. *Dedejko's* blood is found where his stick struck a sheep, on its horns or on the ground.[1] The herdsmen of Bosnia have a similar enemy, *Kravosac* (cow-sucker) whose blood is many-coloured. When he can do so unseen, his chief pleasure is to suck the milk of mottled cows. The udders then swell and the cow often dies. *Ustrel* is another cattle or sheep disease which in Serbia (so far as I know) is not personified, but in certain districts of Bulgaria is believed to be a kind of spirit which rides on the heads of animals.

Diseases are said to be caused by winds[2] and to be carried in the air, for the wind is the element of many spirits. A certain class of skin eruptions, with eczema and erysipelas, are called black, red, white wind, etc. 'Keep the devils' wind from me' is a Hercegovinian saying (*Odbite od mene vjetar sotonski*). It is also said that wind blows strongly where human blood is spilt. Diseases said to come on wind are called—among other names—*dobrinjice* (*v. supra*). In an evil-eye exorcism comes the phrase: 'On the winds you came, on the winds are you gone.' Gusts of wind, particularly when they raise a cloud of dust or leaves or small stones are dangerous. They bring fever, for example. Rheumatic pains are caused by blood and wind getting mixed, or by being 'caught by wind'.[3] Wind is associated with chill, and hence the sharp pains in back and chest which may indicate an internal inflammation. It was said that winds had entered

[1] *Bajania, Vračuvanija i Lekuvanija ot sslo Libjahovo, Nevrokopsko* (*nobl.ma G. M. Gerov*), Sb.N.U. xxxvi (1926), p. 163.

[2] 'Wind', of course, includes what is popularly called in England 'wind in the stomach', flatulence, etc.

[3] Cf. Gl.Z.M. xn, p. 198.